

Message Text

SECRET

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY: S/S:LJREDDY:JLH

APPROVED BY: S/S:MR. REDDY

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 231693 TOSEC 270376

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT MONROVIA 6690 ACTION SECSTATE 18 SEP 1976

QUOTE S E C R E T MONROVIA 6690

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (TOLBERT, W.R.)

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO SECRETARY KISSINGER

REF: LUSAKA 1405

QUOTE: MR. SECRETARY:

1. HAVE JUST RECEIVED YOUR MESSAGE OF THE 17TH INSTANT AS YOU
CONTINUE IN YOUR ENDEAVOURS TO EVOLVE A FRAMEWORK FOR A JUST
AND DURABLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. I AM
HEARTENED BY YOUR REFERENCE TO OUR ENCOURAGEMENT OF YOUR EFFORTS.

2. YOUR MEETING WITH PRESIDENT NYERERE AND PRESIDENT KAUNDA,
I AM HOPEFUL, WILL CONTRIBUTE IN LARGE MEASURE TO SUCH A REALISTIC
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APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS NOTABLY OF NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE AS

WILL OCCASION THE DESIRED PEACEFUL RESOLUTION.

3. AS REGARDS NAMIBIA, I AM OF THE CONSIDERED OPINION THAT ACCEPTABLE PROGRESS TOWARDS THE OBJECTIVES OF INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE WITHIN A UNITARY STATE CAN BE ASSURED ONLY WHEN THE UNITED NATIONS, THE LEGAL AUTHORITY OF THE TERRITORY; SWAPO, THE AUTHENTIC REPRESENTATIVE OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE, RECOGNIZED BY THE OAU AND THE U.N.; AS WELL AS SOUTH AFRICA, THE DE FACTO, THOUGH ILLEGAL AUTHORITY, CAN CONVENE TO DISCUSS THE MODALITIES FOR THE TRANSFER OF POWER. WHILE I CONCUR WITH YOUR VIEW THAT A CONFERENCE IS ESSENTIAL, I MUST EMPHASIZE THAT ANY SOLUTION WHICH EVOLVES FROM SUCH A CONFERENCE WOULD PROVE SHORT-LIVED IF MR. VORSTER'S MANEUVERS LEAD TO MINIMIZING THE CENTRAL ROLE WHICH SWAPO MUST PLAY AS THE LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA.

4. IN VIEW OF MR. VORSTER'S UNQUESTIONED INFLUENCE IN THE TERRITORY AND THE MANY OPPORTUNITIES AT YOUR COUNTRY'S DISPOSAL TO ENSURE THAT HE COMPLIES WITH THE OBJECTIVE OF INDEPENDENCE, I SINCERELY TRUST THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL DO ALL POSSIBLE TO TRANSLATE ITS ENCOURAGING DECLARATIONS OF INTENT INTO ACTIONS OF LIBERATION.

5. CONCERNING ZIMBABWE, I AM HEARTENED BY YOUR EFFORTS TO PERSUADE MR. VORSTER TO EXERT EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE AND TIMELY PRESSURE ON MR. SMITH. BUT MUCH WILL DEPEND ON YOUR MISSION AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE UNITED STATES WOULD HAVE SUCCEEDED IN IMPRESSING UPON BOTH MR. SMITH AND MR. VORSTER THE NEED TO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT CHANGE IS URGENTLY INEVITABLE IN ZIMBABWE. IT IS MY CONVICTION THAT THIS CAN BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE ADOPTION OF STRINGENT ECONOMIC MEASURES AGAINST RHODESIA. ANY FURTHER DELAY IN RESOLVING THE RHODESIAN PROBLEMS, IN MY VIEW, WILL ONLY MEAN AN INTENSIFICATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE WITH INCALCULABLE CONSEQUENCES THAT MAY AFFECT THE ENTIRE WORLD.

6. I COMMEND YOU FOR YOUR CURRENT PEACE INITIATIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND I CAN FULLY APPRECIATE THE REASONS WHY IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO BE IN WASHINGTON WHEN I VISIT THERE NEXT WEEK.

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7. AGAIN ON YESTERDAY, THE 17TH INSTANT, WE HELD SPECIAL INTERCESSORY PRAYERS IN THE CHAPEL OF THE EXECUTIVE MANSION INVOKING GOD'S BLESSINGS ON YOUR MOST IMPORTANT MISSION IN THE INTEREST OF JUSTICE AND PEACE.

8. WITH MY BEST WISHES. SINCERELY, W.R. TOLBERT, JR.
UNQUOTE

DEPARTMENT ALSO PASS PRETORIA FOR THE SECRETARY.
HORAN UNQUOTE ROBINSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, INDEPENDENCE, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, CAT-C, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, MINISTERIAL VISITS, ECONOMIC WARFARE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: buchant0
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE231693
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: S/S:LJREDDY:JLH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N760007-0094
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760945/aaaabmcx.tel
Line Count: 118
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 76 LUSAKA 1405
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: buchant0
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 JUN 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 JUN 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <18 OCT 2004 by buchant0>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MESSAGE TO SECRETARY KISSINGER
TAGS: OVIP, PSDC, PDEV, LI, US, SF, WA, RH, SWAPO, (TOLBERT, WILLIAM R), (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006